

BACKGROUND PAPER

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INTRODUCTION

Young leaders are aware of the possibilities of social disharmony arising as a result of the rapid increase in unemployment. Such apprehension exists in all Commonwealth countries, irrespective of the nature of the economic or political systems which prevail. No obvious solutions have so far been found. Unemployment is largely the product of adverse economic conditions and it results in grave social tensions and human suffering. Unfortunately, to recognise these evils is not to remove them. The world economic crisis which is the positive force for unemployment is also the negative force which prevents adequate measures being taken to deal with the social consequences. What appears to be essential is concerted international action to revitalise the world economy and in particular the economies of the developing countries.

Those who have monitored the attempts to introduce a New International Economic Order will be depressed by the lack of progress. Even given a newfound resolve to make progress in this major restructuring of the world economy there is every likelihood that they will lose their youth before they lose the odium of being unemployed.

In the developed countries job opportunities seem to be decreasing rather than increasing as each year man's creative genius succeeds in replacing more jobs by more computers. In the developing world the rapid increase in population will mean many more who will be destined to live unproductive and unfulfilled lives.

This depressing situation has particular relevance for the young who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population in developing countries. Young leaders, already emerging in the parliaments, trade unions, youth and community organisations in all Commonwealth countries are becoming more aware of the responsibilities devolving upon them to seek solutions to unemployment in their lifetimes. Over the next few decades many of these same leaders will occupy positions of increasing authority in their respective countries. By virtue of their youth, they have already a special insight into the current mood of the generation of which they are a part. Confronted at school-leaving age with immediate unemployment, poverty, and frustration, and without the prospect of its removal through job opportunities, inevitable social pressures are building up which Governments have no effective means of defusing. The inevitable result of this condition in any society is disenchantment of the young with the established order of things. Until relatively recently, governments have not been sufficiently alerted to the need for action on their part to contain the public unease which increasing unemployment is forcing upon them. The general scarcity of financial resources in the social sectors of most economies is unlikely to change, especially if national planning agencies and international lending institutions continue to establish priorities in other spending areas.

These realities have led policy makers to seek short-term measures to reduce unemployment. National service, in a para-military framework, has appeared attractive, especially as the 'discipline' motive and service to the community by cadres of young workers has popular appeal.

Only in a few countries have governments been able to introduce fresh ideas. Some of these are in the fields of youth in business or Youth in agriculture where, for example, in order to exploit the availability of land for agricultural production, youth organisations have been encouraged to establish new production and marketing structures. One country where such experiments have proved successful is Malaysia. Inevitably, the availability of finance from the public purse is a prerequisite for any lasting solution. Indeed, it would appear that whatever initiative is taken on the part of governments to encourage unemployed youth into productive endeavours, an ongoing commitment of funds will remain a major requirement.

This paper provides a background for consideration of youth unemployment in a Commonwealth context. It refers both to established strategies and certain theoretical models in order to give a degree of understanding to the extent of the problem and the complexity of the effort which will be required in order to secure sufficient job opportunities in the next two decades, during which the youth of today will gradually enter middle age.

The question is posed, whether greater social expenditure is now required than has so far been possible; and how governments can encourage leadership training among youth. Pragmatic plans and recommendations need to be defined to attract the interest of governments to these necessities. Governments may wish to orient some policies towards adjusting the balance of public expenditure in order to maintain social equilibrium, alongside existing schemes for economic expansion and increased growth. If young people and their organisations can be assisted in this manner, governments may be better served by the contribution of youth to economic and social development. Such a process will require increased political will in the cause of national development which, in turn, could enhance the commitment of the younger generations to national development in the years ahead.

YOUTH IN THE COMMONWEALTH

Throughout the world, living conditions present a spectacle of stark contrasts. The Commonwealth, encompassing as it does a representative cross-section of global conditions, depicts these contrasts graphically. In the area of youth unemployment, however, Commonwealth countries share a common concern.

Unemployment among young people is a major problem in industrialised as well as developing countries. In the OECD group, unemployment is growing and young people between school leaving age and 25 now constitute 40% of those who are unemployed.

To take three Commonwealth examples from this group: in Australia, young people under 21 form 12% of the labour force but 40% of those unemployed; in Canada, young people from 15-24 form 30% of the labour force but 50% of the unemployed; in New Zealand, young men from 15-24 form 53% of all the male unemployed and young women form 73% of all female unemployed.

The problem is significantly worse in developing countries. In Sri Lanka, young people from 15-29 form 76% of the total unemployed.* Youth unemployment constitutes the core of a larger problem. The larger problem is such that the ILO estimates that the continent of Africa, for instance, will have to create 150 million new jobs by the year 2000 to reach anything near full economic capacity.

To a young person who wishes to work, the absence of opportunity to do so can be destructive to the personality and socially degrading. The social factors inherent in continuing youth unemployment have been well recognised by both governments and international agencies, though few effective solutions have so far been found. The ILO has long included mention of youth unemployment in its descriptive literature and reported five years ago that, "by a tragic paradox it is precisely in countries where economic expansion is of vital importance that the largest number of jobless and untrained young persons is to be found."**

In addition to the immediate social and economic costs of youth unemployment, there are the long-term consequences. What is to be considered is the possibility of a "lost generation" without skills, productive work experience or even the will to work itself. This would seriously interrupt the process of the renewal of the labour force; encourage the transmission of negative attitudes towards work to a succeeding generation of children; and discourage, through disillusionment, any commitment by these generations to the efforts of national development. Increasingly, unemployed young people figure in incidents of social unrest in many parts of the world.

* Statistics for a large range of countries may be found in the ILO World Employment Programme's paper 2-18/WP 9

** The ILO and the World of Work, Geneva 1974

GOVERNMENT MEASURES

Government measures to combat youth unemployment differ from country to country. Different ideological, political, cultural or social factors operate. Countries have differing industrial or rural emphases. Inroads against youth unemployment, however, depend on the efficiency and effectiveness of government measures - whatever their orientation.

In this regard, industrialised countries necessarily begin with an advantage. Government machinery is generally well-developed, and government resources are such that they can be spread, however thinly, over a wide range of programmes. Developed economies are also more capable of flexibility, of being adjusted for combinations of short-term and long-term goals. In the case of growing unemployment, government measures can also be implemented either to combat unemployment as a broad phenomenon - as part of the wider picture of industrial health and work distribution - or as a specific problem which affects young people most of all.*

In dealing with the specific problem of youth unemployment, industrialised countries have a variety of measures at their disposal, which can be coordinated or adapted according to the severity of the situation. These measures, as described by Reubens, include:

- a. subsidies, tax credits, or tax exemptions to employers who retain or hire young workers;
- b. the institution of a quota system requiring that a fixed proportion of employees in stipulated enterprises should be below a given age;
- c. changing the redundancy or dismissal payments system to make it more favourable to the retention of young workers;
- d. special efforts to fill existing youth vacancies through information, guidance, placement activities or the payment of mobility allowances;
- e. subsidies, tax credits or tax exemptions to employers who agree to train young people;
- f. improved subsidised work-study arrangements for those still in educational institutions;
- g. occupational training in public training centres, schools, etc;
- h. basic education to qualify youth for occupational training;

* See Beatrice G. Reubens, 'Current Responses to Youth Unemployment', in OECD, Entry of Young People into Working Life, Paris 1977

- i. extension of compulsory education;
- j. encouragement of young people to extend education voluntarily;
- k. job creation for youth by the public authorities in activities that could lead to regular employment;
- l. humanitarian, leisure, recreational or diversionary activities at home or abroad, unpaid or low-paid;
- m. remedial education in basic cognitive skills;
- n. remedial programmes to improve attitudes, behaviour and performance when employment or training are sought or obtained;
- o. financial support to unemployed youth, including those who have never worked.

While measures such as these are available to countries with developed economies, the question must be asked, how relevant are they to developing countries where resources are scarce; avenues to raise finance are limited and governments as a consequence have few funds to distribute.

It is suggested that the problems posed by youth unemployment require to be examined at the basic levels of government policy formulation. At the stage where overnments draw up their lists of priorities, according to which their scarce funds will be distributed, the problem of youth unemployment - with its attendant considerations about manpower planning, national morale, educational relevance, income distribution and economic regeneration - should figure prominently.

Four years ago, William Demas (President of the Caribbean Development Bank) and Alister McIntyre (Secretary-General of CARICOM), urged greater integration of youth unemployment concerns with other national economic measures. They were addressing a symposium held in Barbados in 1975, where delegates eventually identified a number of economic planning factors which could provide the foundation for a more successful struggle against youth unemployment in Caribbean countries.* These included measures concerned with systems of economic incentive, abolition of tax preferences for foreign firms which encouraged capital intensive methods of production, the encouragement of more employment-oriented trade policies, altering patterns of consumption demand through taxes and trade controls to locally produced goods and services, and investment in local, labour-intensive industries.

* Commonwealth Secretariat, The Young Unemployed: A Caribbean Development Problem, London 1975.

The general principle was that developing countries have little choice but to combat unemployment, not as a specific problem in isolation, but as part of their overall economic strategy and a necessary part of the national development effort.

A test of government measures against youth unemployment might be, therefore, how prominently they feature in national development plans, and how integrated they are with the mainstream of provision for the future.

An examination of efforts of developing Commonwealth countries to combat youth unemployment finds that their programmes include some or all of the following:

- a. population control
manpower planning
- b. educational reform
vocational guidance and education
- c. incentive schemes for employers
entrepreneurial encouragement
- d. national apprenticeship schemes
national youth service schemes
- e. agricultural settlements and cooperatives
urban cooperative schemes
modern sector labour intensiveness
- f. increasing manpower in the services sector
- g. job creation projects that remove young people,
at least temporarily, from the unemployed labour
'market'.

Despite variations and different emphases in the list, above, developing Commonwealth countries have formulated three broad strategies:

i. Mobilisation

Large scale programmes which combine training courses with immediate production, either in large-scale apprenticeship schemes in which goods are manufactured in the course of training; or national youth service schemes which centre around productive community service; or in labour-intensive labour-investment schemes which concentrate on infra-structure development projects.

ii. Youth as Catalysts

Programmes in which young people are trained to become not only productive in their own right, but to stimulate production in the surrounding community. There are three major examples of this (a) the promotion of immediate land settlement by young people in areas requiring new agricultural development, thus forming a core for more

comprehensive community development; (b) the promotion of improved land settlement through specially-trained young people who return to their villages with the aim of sharing their knowledge; and (c) programmes chiefly of an urban nature that promote the creation of young entrepreneurs, both as a means of self-employment and as a stimulant to existing business enterprises.

iii Education

Strictly remedial or preparatory training courses which do not directly involve production, but which aim at heightened production capabilities.

These strategies, and the various channels through which they are applied, are more fully summarized in the appendix to this paper. Each of these strategies is likely to encounter difficulties in implementation, including some opposition from the young people themselves. For example, social mobilization, if accompanied by compulsion and strict discipline, may cause resentment against the element of compulsion and, in any case, cannot remove any group of individuals indefinitely from an employment situation that may not have improved during their period of conscription; the aim of catalyzing depends often on chance and always on an overall social/commercial environment that can absorb both new ideas and commercial competition, as well as infrastructure that is able to support and regulate it; the introduction of more vocational levels of education may create resentment of those at academic levels - employability may therefore come only with a growing hierarchical perception of society.

These are difficulties which each country can resolve. Many programmes in these fields are relatively new and require a little time for proper assessment and refinement. A particularly interesting factor, worthy of immediate attention is that - apart from plans for the expansion and reform of education - young people as a group receive very little direct acknowledgement in most development plans in Commonwealth countries. There are exceptions but, even in countries with the highest proportions of young people, the omission is noticeable. Even plans that mention national youth service or youth mobilisation schemes do so briefly or in passing.

It may well be that, in an attempt to integrate provision for young people in the mainstream of provision for national development, it is not felt necessary to itemise particular applications of strategy or particular benefits for young people. This may be a problem of articulation.

Again it may be that development plans are intended to express only the broad outlines, with particular policies emerging later.

It may be useful however, to question whether sufficient thought has yet been given to youth unemployment in government planning offices and at the early stages of policy formulation.

YOUTH PARTICIPATION

The question of youth participation in national development and in seeking solutions to the problems which confront them has been discussed in many international forums. The First Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders, held in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, in 1977, was concerned with this subject. Commonwealth governments have generally accepted the value of youth participation and have sought to encourage it by the institution of national youth councils, political party youth wings, and other assemblies or committees of young people. How therefore can youth participation benefit the struggle against youth unemployment?

Young leaders representing such organisations have a dual responsibility; to stimulate the consciousness of governments on this issue; and to mobilise support among young people for government measures to enhance national development. As Commonwealth governments are already actively involved in expanding youth training centres, the inclusion of needs assessment, project analysis, proposal writing and financial planning in the syllabuses of youth training courses could lead to beneficial long-term results, as young people could then play a more meaningful role in their contribution to the national development effort.

Such training could open up new possibilities for action against youth unemployment.

YOUTH AS A CATALYST

One example of youth participation which could combine employment initiatives by youth with the enthusiasm associated with their age is the deployment of young people as catalysts for action in local communities. Such employment schemes would involve young people as pivots around which community employment or community economic activity would take place. Examples, more fully discussed in the appendix to this paper, include the land settlements by Young Pioneers in Malawi, the Village Polytechnics of Kenya, Youth in Business in Malaysia, and similar schemes underway in Sri Lanka.

However, schemes of this nature tend to figure least of all in those sections of national development plans concerned with youth. Precisely because the nature of such schemes demands an entrepreneurial style of operation in areas where traditional public sector development has not yet reached, they are felt to be outside the ambit of official action. The most successful of these schemes, however, have usually extended the frontiers of public sector activity. When officially supported and subsidized, such schemes tend to extend the public sector interest and public sector support into the informal sector. The process of this extension can be seen in the support mechanisms for youth entrepreneurial schemes from Malaysia and India (see Appendix).

It may, therefore, be desirable to provide a bridge between training of various types, whether in national youth service schemes, or in specialised institutions, and the operation of enterprises by young people in the non-public sector.

Such bridging arrangements would involve government sponsorship of young people to establish themselves either in urban business, rural cooperatives etc. These initiatives would require special funding facilities. The submission of detailed grant justifications by applicants would increase the area of responsibility being devolved to young people. The ability to undertake such enterprises in managerial and financial terms would establish a further link between the enterprises and the central government departments responsible for expanding small business initiatives.

In addition to initial grants, ongoing credit facilities may be made available to young people - at least for the first years of their operations. It is obvious that such credit facilities would need to be available on non-traditional banking terms, with flexibility in the provision of guarantors, interest rates and repayment terms.

In order that such schemes could become integrated with planning objectives, funding machinery could be permitted, in association with national institutions such as national enterprise boards or specialised government departments. These would, in turn, cooperate closely with government agencies directly concerned with youth.

It would be desirable for members of the youth organisations which initiate the enterprises to be able to make representations to the body designated by government for the allocation and administration of funds.

In general, whilst it is recognised that few governments in developing countries have the necessary funds available to divert spending on current programmes into new channels for employment creation, the growing social pressures resulting from mass unemployment suggest that closer attention may become necessary to the search for funds at an international level and in the private sector. Closer consultation by governments with national youth organisations may also be necessary. The enlargement of formal channels of access for young people interested in becoming entrepreneurs to the public and private banking community will be essential if new methods are to be adopted. The extension of the concept of venture capital is relevant in this connection. So also, in an organisational context, is the idea of land leasing which avoids the more basic objections to land nationalisation which exists in some countries.

A third area which could benefit from an input of new ideas by young people is in the nature of the objectives which international aid agencies at present seek in the social development field. Such agencies, governmental as well as the non governmental, often continue to assign priority to the development of physical resources. The provision of hardware, the building of roads, the erection of schools etc. are clearly desirable. But little evidence exists that these international sources of development funds have been directed at people, especially young people, who are more likely to respond enthusiastically to entrepreneurial initiatives. In part, the reason why such funds have not been available in these areas relates to the inadequate channels of communication between the funding agencies and the central government departments whose responsibilities impinge upon youth affairs.

Nationally, little effort seems to have been made by governments or by youth organisations to suggest new ways of spending international development funds. Perhaps the need to be assured of effective coordinating procedures locally has been one area of difficulty which may benefit from further examination. Perhaps also the factor of 'will' on the part of organised youth has been lacking or the organisational responsibilities associated with handling money and problems of effective accountability have been inhibited. . Most youth organisations, whether they exist primarily to serve political or social or cultural purposes, have a wider responsibility to become committed in a practical way to more broadly based activities in the presence of growing unemployment amongst their members, in line with the overall objectives of development laid down by governments at national level.

There is much scope for new initiatives, especially in countries where the availability of land for agricultural production remains largely untapped and where channels for marketing agricultural products through local youth organisations or cooperatives can provide a useful link with urban centres. While demand is high, financial competence and management skills which are prerequisites for such initiatives remain in limited supply. But perhaps this is one area where existing training institutions for youth workers within the Commonwealth can be persuaded to increase the range of the training in such relevant skills, which they exist to promote.

NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION

Effective planning for youth employment on a national basis poses ambitious demands on the co-ordinating machinery of Commonwealth governments and has been approached with a considerable degree of trepidation, even in the most economically developed nations. The slow progress of the "Humphrey-Hawkins Bill" in the U.S.A. is one example.* The Bill, however, gives a useful indication of the extent of co-ordination required of government machinery for detailed and effective planning and policy-formulation in the field of employment provision. The Bill

- a. affirms in law the right of willing citizens to useful employment and decent wages;
- b. commits the Federal Government to a five-yearly target figure for the reduction of unemployment;
- c. requires the President to propose annually to Congress short and medium-term employment, production, productivity and real income goals, together with the comprehensive, coordinated fiscal and monetary policy and programme to achieve these goals, within the five year framework;
- d. requires the Federal Reserve to report annually its intended monetary policy for the ensuing years, with an estimation of its impact on the goals presented by the President;
- e. emphasizes as a first priority the creation and sustaining of the type of economic climate that will promote maximum activity and job opportunities.

*Proposed amendment 1703 to the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act 1977

- f. recognizes, in law, that unemployment and inflation feed on each other and that, consequently, strategies should not consider one independently of the other;
- g. commits the Government to the achievement of price stability, including programmes to monitor prices, stockpile commodities in short supply, encourage labour and management productivity, and modify counterproductive Government regulations;
- h. encourages, as a temporary measure, short-term projects to fill the gap between present reality and declared goals;
- i. allows the President flexibility to propose modifications from time to time, in keeping with contemporary events; and
- j. requires that the Federal budget be directed towards the achievement of the goals outlined.

SCALE OF COMMONWEALTH ACTIVITIES

It is possible that a range of activities could be inaugurated under Commonwealth auspices. The Commonwealth Youth Programme has, as one of its founding objectives, a responsibility to attempt to "eliminate unemployment and to alleviate its ill-effects". Naturally, such a broad objective has not been attainable. The Programme has been active however. To date, it has:

- a. helped to fund research studies in specific areas and sectors, including studies in Sri Lanka, Nigeria and Ghana*
- b. published papers by eminent authorities**
- c. included employment studies in the syllabi of the three Commonwealth Youth Programme regional centres
- d. accepted applications to study job creation projects in its Youth Study Fellowships scheme, and
- e. hosted a number of conferences, both with reference to specific areas, e.g. the Caribbean and Asia; and specific models of job creation, e.g. Youth in Business in Malaysia***

* e.g. J.K.A. Boakye and J.C.P. Oxenham, Job Seekers and Job Placement Services in Ghana (completed May 1978, to be published by the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex)

** Philip Mbithi, Youth Employment Problems, 1975
 H.W. Singer, Employment and Youth, 1975
 Louis Emmerij, Richard Jolly, Mark Blaug, Ajit Bhalla, Hans Singer, et.al., Employment: Problems and Strategies, 1976

*** For an overall survey, see Commonwealth Youth Programme, Youth Unemployment: A Folio of Recommendations 1969-1978, London 1978

It is unrealistic, given the current financial constraints on the Commonwealth Youth Programme, to expect it to enter such fields as large scale funding for job creation projects.

The Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders however, hosted especially to consider youth unemployment, should seek a fresh dimension to the Programme's activity. Within the limits of the Programme's resources, young leaders may well provide a bridge to fresh ideas.

SUMMARY

This background paper has sought to convey the importance of introducing new ideas to combat youth unemployment within overall planning for national development. Its argument has been:

1. Youth unemployment is increasing dramatically. The social consequences are severe, and the long-term effects on economic regeneration are obvious.
2. Instead of depending solely on the improvement of the international economic factor, its effect on national economies and its effect on youth unemployment, Commonwealth governments should perhaps consider taking immediate steps to increase the priority now given to the problem of youth unemployment.
3. Whilst government procedures for confronting youth unemployment differ from country to country, the channels for doing so effectively are relatively restricted particularly in the case of developing countries. Action against youth unemployment should, therefore, be closely integrated with overall planning for national development.
4. Commonwealth governments have developed a number of strategies to combat youth unemployment, but perhaps some further benefit could be gained if these strategies were more obviously associated with national development objectives.
5. Meaningful participation by young people in the national development effort and the delegation of real responsibilities to them and their organisations can deepen the commitment of youth to attainment of national objectives.
6. Young people should be encouraged in the exercise of initiative and creativity, particularly where the results of such activity could enhance the extent, diversity and the impact of their energies on alleviating the extent of unemployment.

APPENDIX

EFFORTS BY COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO OVERCOME YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT SELF RELIANCE AND YOUTH AS A CATALYST

1. The concept of self reliance has appealed to many Commonwealth countries, so much so that in many countries it has become a foundation principle of development. Young people can bring a special meaning to this concept, and this special meaning can be of positive benefit in the struggle against youth unemployment.
2. Despite the variety of governmental systems and governing ideologies in the Commonwealth, almost every Commonwealth country retains an 'informal sector', where even the most detailed development plans - enforced under the most beneficial economic circumstances - cannot completely reach. Young people, acting in a catalytic fashion, can exploit this sector both to their own benefit, by providing themselves with employment, and to the benefit of national development.
3. In Botswana, according to the Botswana National Development Plan 1976-81, "the informal sector is still small...but a recent survey of the squatter settlements in traditional housing areas of Botswana's three largest towns showed that at least 4,500 people make a living from informal wage employment and self-employment in the urban areas alone. In addition the rural income distribution survey has shown that formal and informal employment in the rural areas is a surprisingly important source of cash income for the majority of households."
4. In Botswana, an important movement to combine training with an immediately productive element, and to give young people skills for the future, is the Botswana Brigades. The Brigades philosophy has four fundamental principles:
 - i. vocational training for primary school leavers outside the formal education system;
 - ii. training geared to the needs of the local area with the general aim of rural development;

- iii. a combination of training and productive work, so that the cost of training may be covered, and
 - iv. 20% classroom academic training and 80% on-the-job production and training which leads to a mix of development-oriented values, knowledge and skills.
5. The development plan projects cooperation between the Brigades and the Botswana Enterprises Development Unit, "to ensure an optimum result of combined activities."
 6. The Brigades movement, of itself, will not solve Botswana's unemployment problem among primary school leavers, but does establish a model
 - a. of combined training and production
 - b. of training which pays for itself, and
 - c. of a programme which encourages self-reliance amongst its participants.
 7. It has been noted that there is a similarity between the Brigades in Botswana and the Village Polytechnics in Kenya. Both have the dual role of training both for wage employment and self-employment in rural areas. Village Polytechnics embrace a number of skills and trades. The lynchpin in the Village Polytechnic scheme is the V.P. instructor. He plays a pivotal role in establishing work schemes, ensuring that the work groups generate the sort of momentum that establishes an inter-dependence within the local community - so that, in the circulation of goods and resources in any one community, a more favourable economic situation develops.
 8. In Malawi, the Young Pioneers are recruited from rural areas. They include both the literate and the illiterate. The aim is to equip both with the skills that would enable them to employ themselves usefully and productively on the land. "Many of the Malawi Young Pionners are self-employed as farmers in the settlement schemes. The settlement schemes have been launched by the Malawi Government as a major step in the country's development programme... when the trained Young Pioneers return to their homes after obtaining Malawi Pioneers training and establish themselves as farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, builders, etc, the flow of the youth from the rural areas is diminished and at the same time the problems of unemployment in the country are alleviated." (Description given to the meeting of Commonwealth Ministers concerned with youth matters, 1973.)

9. All these examples have in common the multiplier effect young people have after appropriate instruction and direct involvement in development work. The very nature of their training has an immediate impact upon the community, and they are trained in such a way that they are able thereafter to continue their impact upon the community.

10. Self reliance and catalytic behaviour can also be applied in urban contexts. The Malaysian model provides an example. Malaysia has developed a detailed system through which young people can be assisted in training and in the development of entrepreneurial schemes; and in consolidating themselves in business enterprises. A thorough statement of the system was made at the CYP Regional Seminar, Youth in Business (Kuala Lumpur 1978). What is impressive about the Malaysian model is not only the end result of:
 - a. employed young people, and
 - b. a stimulated non-public sector
 but the extent to which young people are involved in formulating the model's strategy and day-to-day behaviour; and the extent of financial trust readily accorded young people.

11. In Commonwealth countries there is a range of instructions devoted to the training of young people for self reliance in the non-public sector. The Opportunities Industrialization Centre in Lagos, Nigeria, established in 1970, has a number of objectives to do with the training of young people, particularly early school leavers. One of these is "to develop new business and industries through total training programmes" (Nigeria Country Statement to the CYP regional seminar, Banjul 1978).

12. The Indian Government recognizes that emotional stress, "symptoms of youth dissent, disillusionment and frustration" may be caused by "anxiety about employment." Recognising that there are two types of employment, "paid employment and self-employment", the Indian Government has given consideration to self-employment opportunities, "in view of the growing discrepancy between employment opportunities and job seekers" (Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Youth and National Development: Concepts and Practice in India, New Delhi 1975).

13. There has thus been, in India, an active development of appropriate infra-structure to ensure that self-employment enterprises are supported.

These include:

- a. agro-service centres
 - b. consultancy services
 - c. cooperative credit societies
 - d. marketing societies, and
 - e. financial assistance to selected entrepreneurs.
14. The widest examples of Indian training in this area are the Nehru Yuvak Kendras. Initiated in 1972, 235 centres have been planned, and more than half of this number already built. They are fully financed by the central government, with an annual expenditure of Rs.25,000 envisaged for each centre; and with the local states closely associated in the implementation of programmes. These programmes provide non-formal technical education for the illiterate and semi-literate young, and "employment oriented training programmes for promotion of self-employment in cooperation with appropriate service agencies" (Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Youth Programmes in India, New Delhi 1977).
15. Another Indian centre deserving mention is the Calcutta 'Y' Self-Employment Centre, which provides vocational training for self-employment with a constant "eye on the market situation" and retailoring of training programmes. Many of the 'Y' trainees have been well-educated, middle-class youths but, of late, the centre has initiated a slum-based programme, involving the creation of slum-based industry and the sanctioning of small loans and other sponsorship. An early result was the self-employment of 14 young people in an automobile repair cooperative. The centre has emphasized, however, that "if the self-employment programme is to make any real impact, the idea has to be inculcated in young minds while still in the formative stages", and is therefore encouraging schools to include self-employment centres in their overall facilities. (Calcutta 'Y' Self-Employment Centre: 5th Annual Report)

16. There are other impressive Commonwealth examples, including the activities of the Management Development Centre of Trinidad and Tobago. This Centre represents a practical effort to assist small-scale enterprises, with courses conducted on a short-term, part-time basis, e.g. a basic course in management, requiring no academic qualifications, lasting from 5- 8pm over five consecutive evenings. The Centre is a statutory body, established in 1965. One of its most interesting programmes is provided for young people, 14 years of age and over; it is taught as a course at the Mucurapo Secondary School. Its syllabus, taken from the Centre's 1978 prospectus, includes:

- a. types of business organization - forms and structures;
- b. the characteristics of small business - opportunities and problems;
- c. how to start a business - location, markets, finance, employees and legal requirements,
- d. the functions and qualities of management;
- e. aspects of management to do with personnel matters, the management of money, sales organization, management of time, production methods and quality standards, tax matters, use of development agencies, insurance considerations, and
- f. social responsibility towards the community, and the environment.

EFFORTS OF COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO OVERCOME YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

MOBILISATION

1. National youth service takes a variety of forms in Commonwealth countries, quite apart from the question of whether it is compulsory or voluntary. There are also, however, a number of common underlying principles. In addition, while national youth service schemes contribute to the struggle against youth unemployment, this is only one of two major reasons for their operation.
2. National youth service schemes are not concerned solely with unemployment, firstly because of obvious inbuilt limitations to their effectiveness in this area:
 - a. they cannot remove any group of individuals indefinitely from a poor employment situation and, by themselves, do little to improve that situation during the time of induction
 - b. they range over only short periods of time - most are under two years in duration - so that, given massive induction, only one age sector of young people will be affected at any one time or, given a smaller induction, only one portion of one age sector will be affected.
3. The ILO did consider what the benefits of the schemes are, as they relate to youth unemployment. ILO Recommendation 136 (1970) stated that national youth service schemes should have one or more of the following purposes:
 - a. To give young persons who are educationally or otherwise disadvantaged such education, skills and work habits as are necessary for useful and remunerative economic activity and for integration into society.
 - b. To involve young persons in national, economic and social development including agricultural and rural development.
 - c. To provide a useful occupation related to economic and social development for young persons who would otherwise be unemployed.

4. The ILO, throughout Recommendation 136, emphasizes the effect of national youth service schemes on youth unemployment. The Recommendation contains admirable guidelines to protect scheme participants and to regulate their conditions of service, the level of expertise required of the supervising staff, the standards of training, and the thoroughness of administrative arrangements made on behalf of these young people.
5. Secondly and more importantly, national youth service schemes are concerned with a range of objectives that go beyond a concern for youth unemployment. Professor De Graft Johnson, participating in a CYP workshop on national youth programmes and service schemes, Youth for Development an African Perspective (Accra 1975), said that two main objectives stood out for national service schemes:
 - a. To expose the youth to the idea of sacrificial service to the nation.
 - b. To expose youth to some kind of discipline - moral, physical and political.
6. In short, national youth service encourages - in a disciplined manner - the social development of young people. "Sacrificial service" frequently means the hope of establishing, through these young people, forms of infra-structure in previously deprived sections of the community. In addition, the participants are meant to benefit by becoming:
 - a. motivated to seek their country's benefit, and
 - b. anxious to inject others with this motivation - what has been labelled as a 'multiplier effect'.
7. The objectives of national youth service in Guyana can be viewed in this sense. According to the Guyana Country Statement at the Ocho Rios Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders, national youth service has had a "tremendous impact on youth involvement because it has created the institution which can mould youths for their role of decision making and it further institutionalised the planned involvement of youths in developmental work." Such work aims to help decentralise economic activity in Guyana and to open up the hinterland. The concept of self reliance is also stressed. As Prime Minister Forbes Burnham said in a State Paper on National Service (20 December 1973), "National Service will provide an opportunity for all people from whatever background they may come to get to know each other in the course of training together in work and support.

Its aim would be to produce a truly productive Guyanese citizen equipped with both the skills and attitudes needed to contribute positively to the economic, social, cultural and political revolution that has already been embarked upon. A citizen who places nation above self."

8. The implication of such an emphasis was made clear by the Guyanese ambassador to Peking, Sir John Carter. Questioned by West Indian Digest (May/June 1978) as to the strict economic benefits of national youth service, he replied that the importance of "social engineering projects" could not be mentioned in mere economic terms.
9. The Nigerian Youth Service Corps is of similar interest (established by Decree 24, 1973). It has the express intention, quoting from the Country Statement to the CYP Accra 1975 workshop, of "committing the youth of the country to nation building and national development". Its objectives are:
 - a. to inculcate discipline in Nigerian youth
 - b. to raise the moral tone of youth
 - c. to develop a national interest and attitude of mind in youth
 - d. to promote common ties among youth and national unity thereby, by ensuring in the operation of national youth service:
 - (i) that youths are assigned to work in states other than those in which they make their home;
 - (ii) that each working group is representative of a variety of states and
 - (iii) that young people are exposed to different types of community throughout the country.

Only in the final sections is employment specifically mentioned:

- e. To encourage participants to seek employment at the end of their service in any part of the country;
- f. to induce employers to hire young people from any part of the country, and
- g. to enable young people to acquire self reliance.

Even so, (e) and (f) have as much to do with Nigerian national unity as employment.

10. It should be noted that the Nigerian National Youth Service Corps is compulsory for all Nigerians, up to the age of 30, who are university graduates. The scheme thus ensures the sort of mix that would encourage a sense of national unity among the well-educated.
11. Young people who are not as well-educated, who are school dropouts, are provided for by the National Youth Employment Programme - a disciplined variety of vocational training.
12. The same division is practised in Ghana, where all university and equivalent graduates are required to undergo national service for a year. In addition Ghana has established a National Reconstruction Corps as a means of overcoming urban unemployment among young people by deploying them in rural settlements. This is a scheme obviously designed for the urban school or job dropout.
13. In Tanzania, national service also involves two categories of youth:
 - a. all high school and college graduates are compulsorily enrolled for one year;
 - b. rural youths and, to a lesser extent, urban youth, who are not graduates, may volunteer.
14. An Indian National Service Scheme launched in 1969 provides places for undergraduates and the National Service Volunteer Scheme, recently launched, is for graduates.
15. The difference in emphasis between provision for those educated and those not as well educated is one which may bear some thought. Even though both categories are involved in either development work or training for development, it may seem at first glance that those who are most bitterly affected, not only by unemployment but by the inability generally of national development to reach them are the ones who are being trained at a lower level, a level which no doubt will benefit them within their communities, but which does not in any major sense guarantee the fundamental advancement of their communities and the conditions of life within their communities.
16. Nevertheless they are given a number of strong vocational skills, usually at an examinable level which is of relevance to the outside world where the former participant will seek employment. The Kenya National Service is only one of many schemes which provides vocational training for participants to the level of Government Trade Test Certificate requirements. This includes training for mechanics, fitters, turners, plumbers, electricians, agriculturalists and rural artisans.

17. It may be noted, however, that despite the emphasis given by many Commonwealth governments to national youth service, not all have made provision for it by legislation or decree, or have mentioned it at length, if at all, in their national development plans. The question should be asked as to whether they are a peripheral provision for young people in keeping with overall national development objectives, but outside of the main thrust of development. In this light it is worth noting the symbolic emphasis at least that Kenya has accorded its national youth service, whereby the Constitution of Kenya was amended to allow for the existence of national youth service as a disciplined force on par with the police, the prison service and the armed services.

EFFORTS OF COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO OVERCOME YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

EDUCATION

1. Commonwealth countries have been concerned that education systems may be unresponsive to declared national needs. A number of countries have now declared intentions to change their education systems. These changes fall into three categories:
 - i. the extension of the length of normal education
 - ii. the reorientation of the curriculum of normal education, and
 - iii. the institution of special education/training courses for employable skills.
2. The role of higher education has also been considered. Government delegates to a CYP South-Asia Symposium on Employment Strategies and Programmes (Chandigarh 1976) agreed that the educated unemployed were not only a problem of numerical magnitude, but of "tremendous waste". Higher education had to be reformed to:
 - a. eliminate further additions to the existing group of educated unemployed, and
 - b. make fruitful use of both unused capability and latent potential among the educated.

The symposium recommended, within the bounds of social justice, restrictions in higher education and, more essentially, an incomes structure that was related to occupational realities rather than general educational qualifications.

3. Similar points were made by the President of the Caribbean Development Bank in addressing the CYP regional seminar, The Young Unemployed: A Caribbean Development Problem (Barbados 1975): "Two things are wrong fundamentally with the educational system in the countries of the Caribbean:
 - a. the divorce between school and work generates "wrong values and attitudes towards different types of work," and
 - b. the educational system, in any case, produces the wrong sort of skills - leaving a particularly acute gap at the middle level."

The problem of higher education, identified by government delegates at Chandigarh, was only the

specialised expression of a general educational shortcoming, as described in Barbados.

4. Many Commonwealth countries have accordingly set out to reform their education systems, particularly to improve the employment prospects of young people. This has been a declared objective in many national development plans:
 - a. The First Five Year Plan 1973-78 of Bangladesh stated (chapter 14) that it was necessary to relate "education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve these needs."
 - b. Fiji's Seventh Development Plan 1976-80 itemised a major aim for the education system (chapter 24): "to develop Fiji's human resources in such a way as to guide all citizens towards satisfying, productive employment, in accordance with national needs, thereby accelerating economic development."
 - c. The Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1975/76 - 1979/80 for The Gambia described proposed changes in formal education (Chapter 17), in line with manpower strategy (Chapter 3) which seeks to "contain urban unemployment by adjustment of the volume and type of formal education."
 - d. Similarly, the Guidelines for the Five-Year Plan 1975-80 in Ghana stresses that education should be "geared towards manpower requirements," recognizing that education is "the main instrument for raising the skills, productivity, technological and managerial levels of our labour force." (chapter 5)
 - e. The Kenya Development Plan 1974-78 recommends (chapter 19) "the localisation of syllabi at all levels of education," to reduce the number of young people "with higher pro forma qualifications chasing relatively fewer jobs in one small part of the economy."
 - f. The Third Malaysia Plan 1976-80 recognizes the participation of young people in the development effort. "To this end, education and training in science, technology and business management require more emphasis." (chapter 3)
 - g. An increased emphasis on technical education is also emphasized in the Development Plan for Malta 1973-80. One of the four educational aims

(chapter 3) is "to promote a greater awareness of the dignity, status and potential contribution to society, of manual labour."

5. It is not certain as to whether these declared plans have yet been fully implemented. Successful curriculum reform takes time. Teachers need to be retained. Pupils themselves need to make the adjustment from one form of education to another. Despite planned intentions, therefore, it would seem that educational reform in Commonwealth countries is a long-term strategy, and will have little immediate effect on youth unemployment.
6. Insofar as Commonwealth governments are concerned with change through education, however, the determination and broad sweep of the Tanzania Country Statement to the Ocho Rios Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders (Ocho Rios 1977) provides an example of new educational thought:

"The introduction of Education for Self-Reliance in 1967 marked yet another milestone in youth development in Tanzania. The type of education we had inherited at the time of our national independence was still a colonial type of education which was more capable of inculcating in the youth such values and aspirations which were contrary to those espoused by a free and self-respecting nation. The most outstanding feature of the inherited educational system was that it imbued its recipients with exaggerated respect for white-collar jobs and correspondingly instilled undue disrespect and actual hatred for manual labour. To make matters worse it had the capacity to dehumanise the youths into becoming helpless victims of foreign cultures and values ... our educational system now emphasizes that each level of education, be it primary level or secondary levels, must be sufficient by itself to enable its product to be capable of facing life's problems and requirements as a mentally properly equipped person. This means that our educational system now is directly linked with the requirements for economic and social reconstruction of our country and this means that due emphasis is given to the link between education and work ... We believe that once the philosophy of education for self-reliance is properly understood and followed we should not have the so-called problems of unemployment because we actually have more land than the number of people to work on it, and what made it seem that there was 'unemployment' was the presence of white-collar-job seekers who are definitely a product of an irrelevant educational system."

7. Short of this total transformation, and in addition to reform of the formal educational system, many Commonwealth Governments are making serious efforts in the field of non-formal education. Delegates to the 1976 CYP South-Asia Symposium (op.cit) recommended that "Programmes on non-formal education should be intensified and put into operation throughout the national community."
8. This point has been taken up by Commonwealth governments. The Government of Sierra Leone in its National Development Plan 1974/75 to 1978/79 called for (chapter 3) an increase in the scale of efficiency in the labour force by improved education, job-oriented pre-service and in-service training programmes.
9. Often such programmes are an addition or supplement to the formal education system. However, the 1975-80 Five Year Plan of Mauritius seems to pose this type of non-formal education as an alternative to formal education when it says (chapter 8), "young people who do not join secondary or technical schools would be provided with a number of employment courses which last from one to one and a half years."
10. A CYP Sub-regional Seminar for Directors and Assistant Directors of Youth Affairs (Banjul 1978) considered the development of this sort of education, and gave special emphasis to training in the use of appropriate technology.
11. It is unusual, however, for Commonwealth Governments to establish non-formal education as a centralised system. This is the intention of the Government of the Seychelles, as outlined in the Guidelines for the Fourth Development Plan 1975-85 which states (section 9), "that there should be a centralisation of all further education so that programmes would exist for all idle young people for whom schooling terminated at the age of 14 years and who are too old to go to school and too young to work."
12. For the most part, however, non-formal education has been established as a complement to formal education, correcting its shortcomings in the field of vocational schooling. Obviously, with a successful reform of formal education and a greater vocational orientation, ad hoc informal programmes would lose their importance. As it is, however, non-formal education is very rarely even an extension of normal education services, but forms a separate series of isolated and specialised attempts to grapple with problem areas, rather than constituting centralised strategy under a single national direction, with few of those funds normally available in formal education. This statement excludes schemes such as the Kenyan Village Polytechnics, with their combination of training and production, which were considered earlier in this appendix.